Arts of Mughal India

Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton

Edited by

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Victoria and Albert Museum

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Note on transliteration

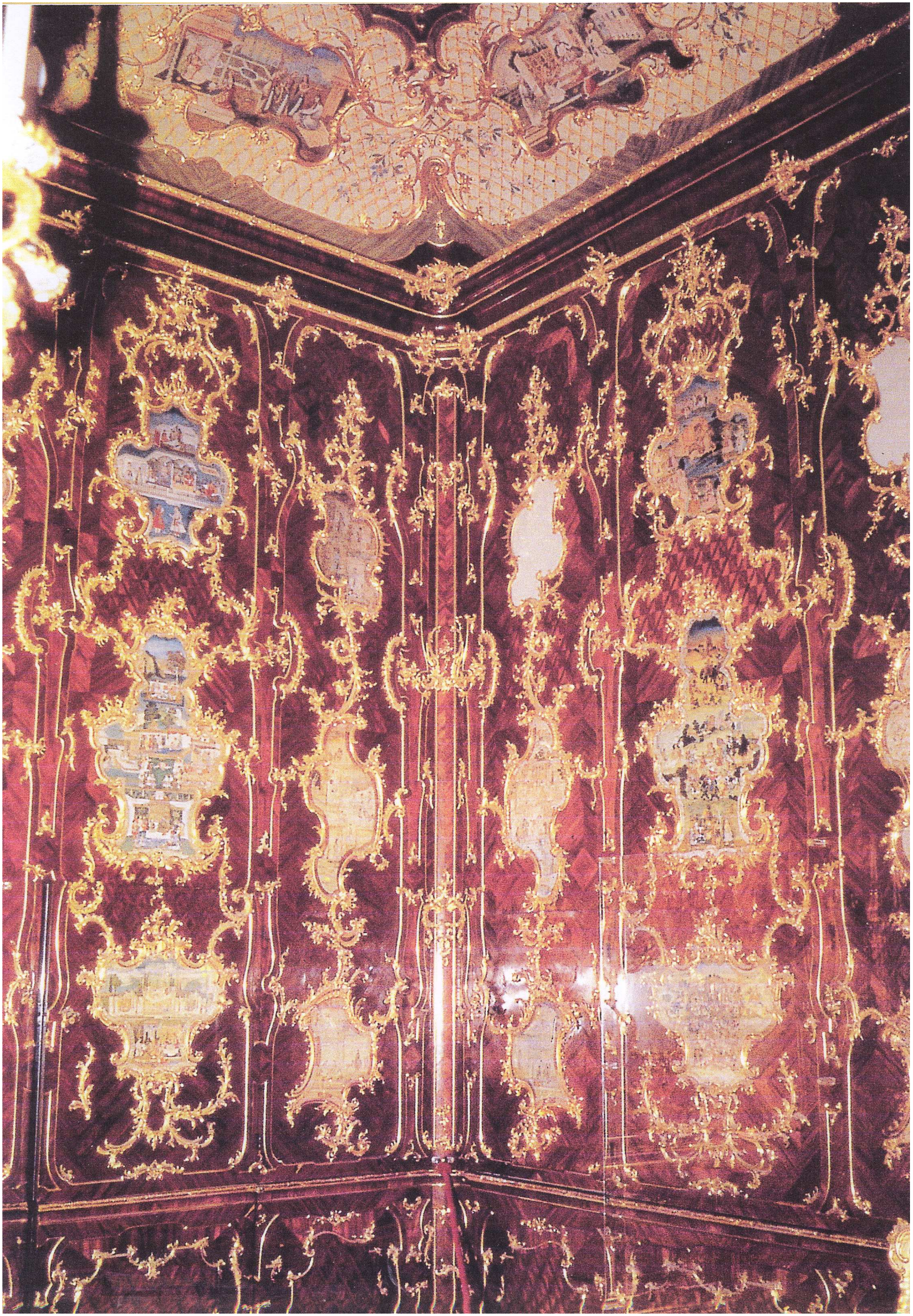
While a uniform style of transliteration of Indian and Persian words has been used throughout most of this volume, certain authors have asked to retain their own preferred systems. This has resulted in a few inconsistencies which we hope the reader will not find too distracting. We have also added macrons where requested by the authors.

Captions:

FIG. I (page 2)
The Maharana of Mewar making submission to Prince Khurram.
Illustration to the Jahangirnama.
Opaque watercolour on paper. By Nanha.
Mughal, *c.*1618.
V&A, no.IS 185-1984.

FIG. II (page 5)
Embroidered floorspread.
Cotton, embroidered in silk chain-stitch.
Mughal, *c.*1700.
V&A, no.IS 34-1985.
Purchased by the Associates of the Victoria the Albert Museum.

FIG. III (page 10)
Cameo portrait of Shah Jahan.
Carved sardonyx. Probably by a European working at the Mughal court, *c.*1630-40.
V&A, no.IS 14-1974.



The 'Moghuleries' of the Millionenzimmer, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna

Ebba Koch

Robert Skelton's approach as a 'Europeanist', to use an expression of Jerry Losty to describe our honorand's lifelong engagement with the European element in Mughal art, was and is not at all one-way. In his article 'Europe and India', Skelton discussed the reception of Mughal miniatures[1] in Europe by Rembrandt, Willem Schellinks and the Millionenzimmer of Schönbrunn Palace at Vienna.[2] He also identified an oil painting of Schellinks in the Victoria and Albert Museum as a companion piece to 'Shah Jahan's four sons appearing on composite mounts before the emperor and his daugher Jahanara' in the Musée Guimet.[3] I felt, therefore, that the first publication of the delightful paintings on the ceiling of the Millionenzimmer, which recreate Mughal miniatures inspired by the famous cartouche collages of the main walls, in the manner of Schellinks but in the style of the middle of the eighteenth century and with their own Viennese touch, might be a suitable offering.

There is no doubt that the Mughals received European art more systematically than Europe received the arts of the Mughals. Mughal painters consistently studied the arts of Europe, in particular Flemish, Dutch and German, over a period of about hundred years from about the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries, in order to derive illusionistic techniques and allegorical iconography. This interest was part of a highly creative and complex syncretism which successfully fused traditions of various origins (Central Asian, Timurid, Iranian, Indian and European), to create a specific Mughal form of artistic expression, reflecting the universalistic attitude of the Mughal dynasty.

In European art history the still intriguing interest of Rembrandt and Schellinks in Mughal miniatures is well known, but not yet sufficiently understood, being seen as an isolated phenomenon. In a group of more than twenty drawings after Mughal subjects, Rembrandt (1606-69) and perhaps also his circle, brings the Mughal emperors close to us in his intense and searching presentation of character.[4] Rembrandt's contemporary Willem Schellinks (1627-78) went a step further and produced oil paintings which can be described as 'proto-Orientalist', evoking fantastic scenes from the Mughal court in which elements derived from Mughal miniatures are integrated.[5] To some extent, these outstanding examples overshadow the large series of copies of Indian miniatures created as illustrations to travel literature and encyclopaedic works on India.[6] The collages and paintings of the Millionenzimmer in which the phenomenon of Chinoiserie is expressed in 'Mughal terms' represent an important piece in the puzzle of the reception of Mughal art in the West.

Abbreviations:
CC cartouche collage
CP cartouche painting

Between 1688 and 1690, the leading Austrian Baroque architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach presented to Emperor Leopold I a plan for a new palace, to be called Schönbrunn ('Beautiful Fountain'). The ambitious project remained unfinished until Maria Theresia (1740-80) became empress and made Schönbrunn the political and social centre of the Austrian Hungarian empire. Maria Theresia renovated what had been built so far and finished the interior from the 1740s onwards. Special attention was given to the main floor. The large halls for grand receptions were decorated in a retrospective manner, with allegorical paintings in the

Fig. 1
View of the Millionenzimmer, south-west corner, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna, 1760s.
(Photo E. Koch 1988).

tradition of grand baroque interiors. In the 1760s, several of the smaller rooms were given a more modern, exotic decoration, inspired by French Rococo and the general interest in Chinoiserie, the favourite decoration fashion of the courts of absolutist-ruled Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] Chinoiserie has been considered a reaction in the realm of the arts to the exploration of 'East India', a term encompassing not only the empire of the Great Moghul but also China and South-east Asia. Rooms with Chinoiserie decoration were therefore often called in German 'indianisches Kabinett' (Indian Room), despite the fact that they were predominently decorated in the Chinese style. However, other motifs were also possible, such as Egyptian or Turkish, or, as in the case of the Millionenzimmer, Indian. This is the only instance in which Indian art, in the form of Mughal miniatures, was used in a wholly Chinoiserie scheme.

The Millionenzimmer is in the south-east corner of the main floor of Schönbrunn palace and served Maria Theresia as an audience and conference room. The origin of its present name, meaning 'Chamber of the Millions' or 'The Millions Room' is unknown. The walls of the room are panelled and set with sixty gilded *rocaille* frames, of irregular shape and of different size, enclosing wooden panels under glass (FIG. 1). At least 266 miniatures and parts of miniatures are displayed on these panels. The exact date of the decorative scheme is unknown, but a *terminus ante quem* can be established by comparison with two albums containing Indian miniatures of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library). In one of them, *Codex miniatus* 44, is a pencil entry which says 'Reçue de SMjté le 8 juillet 1762' (Received from Her Majesty on 8 July 1762). It appears that the paintings in these albums are the remnants of a collection of miniatures which were no longer needed after the completion of the decoration of the room. The connection is evident from stylistic parallels and duplicates. The albums also give us an indication of the provenance of the miniatures because they include portraits of Mughal rulers up to the early eighteenth century, and of Deccani rulers up to 1687, when their central Indian territories were finally integrated into the Mughal empire. One of the possible ways in which the paintings may have come to Vienna is through the Dutch East India Company, which had a factory at Golconda from 1605. The Dutch book cover of *Codex miniatus* 44, and Dutch and Gujarati inscriptions on the reverse of the miniatures, support this. The Dutch inscriptions have been dated to the seventeenth century.[8]

The paintings of the Millionenzimmer were first published by Glück and Strzygowski in 1923.[9] They reproduced all the miniatures and provided numbered diagrams of their arrangement. The reduced steel engravings of this publication, however, do not do justice to the originals. The authors also took the paintings 'at their face value', meaning that they treated them as they appeared glued onto the panels, and overpainted.

The miniatures of the albums and of the Millionenzimmer are a mixed lot and of varying quality: some of them belong to Deccani painting schools, while a large group is of the Mughal school and includes several original miniatures of the imperial Mughal court atelier or copies of them. Most of the paintings date from the reign of Shah Jahan (r.1628-58) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707). The emperors of the Mughal dynasty and their ancestor Timur (d.1404) feature prominently, reflecting the popularity in European collections of portrait series of the Indian house of Timur.[10] In the Millionenzimmer, Shah Jahan appears most frequently, at least 28 times. Other subjects include scenes of the court or harem, historical events, hunts, literary subjects, assemblies of sheikhs, and women or princes visiting an ascetic or a holy man.

In 1980 the Austrian Bundesdenkmalamt commissioned Karin Troschke and Helga Rosenberger to restore the paintings of the Millionenzimmer. The restoration took over

thirteen years to complete; its results were studied by Dorothea Duda who had been cataloguing the illustrated Islamic manuscripts of the Austrian National Library, and by myself. Duda's focus was on stylistic and iconographic aspects of the miniatures,[11] whereas my special interest concerned the overall scheme, how the miniatures were put together, and the Viennese adaptions and contributions.[12]

The work of the restorers was the key to understanding the highly complex character of the decoration scheme, revealing that the cartouche panels consist of intricate collages (FIG. 2). The artist who undertook the large scheme must have worked with a group of assistants. He or she has yet to be identified, though there has been much speculation. It has even been suggested that Maria Theresa's husband Franz Stephan von Lothringen and the imperial children put the collages together because they did the paintings for the adjoining Miniatures Cabinet and Porcelain Room. A more likely candidate would be the painter Johann Wenzel Bergl (1718-89) and his assistants who decorated the garden rooms on the ground floor with fresco paintings of exotic landscapes.[13] However, until further evidence comes to light, we may speak of the artist in the singular, and as male, as the *spiritus rector* of the enterprise, and call him the Schönbrunn painter or the Schönbrunn artist.

FIG. 2
CC 31 during restoration.
(Photo E. Koch, 1993).

The artist glued miniatures or parts of them onto the *rocaille*-shaped wooden panels. In a more intrusive approach, he also cut out parts from miniatures and pasted them into other pictorial contexts, often composed by himself. In his endeavour to form a new pictorial whole, he often painted over the Indian pictures and complemented them with his own additions, which were based on careful studies of the miniatures themselves.

For his own additions the Schönbrunn painter used three main procedures:

1) Painting over joins with elements copied from the iconography of the Indian images: the horizontal joins of miniatures were overpainted with golden or red balustrades modelled on those appearing in some of the paintings, or with floor stripes, clouds, rivers etc. The vertical joins were covered with trees, rocks, waterfalls, etc.
2) Individual paintings or cut-outs, usually of figures, were integrated into newly painted surrounds, such as gardens or architectural settings, closely following the Indian models.
3) Unification of a composition by means of retouching. Here the Schönbrunn painter would add or emphasize similar elements such as eyebrows, moustaches, beards, etc.

True to the principle of Chinoiserie, exotic and European elements were fused together. The extent to which the Indian element was adapted to the taste of the Habsburg court is, however, extraordinary. There is a strange dialectic in the approach of the Schönbrunn painter. On the one hand, he appears to disregard the Indian paintings when he cuts them up unfeelingly and paints over them; on the other, he studied them most carefully and with great sympathy in order to be 'authentic' in his own additions. His interest and involvement went so far that he came up with his own Mughalizing paintings, his 'Moghuleries', if we may use the term.

The Mughalizing paintings of the Schönbrunn artist

The creations of the Schönbrunn painter are set in the cavetto that forms the transition from the walls to the ceiling (FIG. 1). They consist of cartouche-shaped paintings of two asymmetrical sizes: one oblong (measuring in height, without the frame, between *c.* 34 cm. and 44 cm., and in width *c.*73.5 cm., taken horizontally through the middle); the other squarish (without the frame *c.*45 cm. x 43 cm.). Both formats are of irregular shape, framed by gilded scrollwork in relief interlocked in the *rocaille* manner of a lighter form than the heavier frames of the wall cartouches below, which appear to be of an earlier date. The cavetto of each wall shows three of these paintings, two oblong ones near the corners, and a squarish one in the centre, all embedded in a painted golden trellis with flower garlands. Trellis and cavetto pictures are executed in fresco highlighted with elements in gilded stucco relief. Strzygowski misjudged them as '*minderwertige Deckenbilder*' (ceiling paintings of little artistic value).[14] He did not include them in his discussion of the collage cartouche of the wall decoration, and they received no attention in subsequent publications of the Millionenzimmer, brought out in connection with the restoration. I was able to photograph these paintings in October 1988 with the help of a movable scaffold, and studied them again in July 2003.[15] Seen at close quarters, they showed themselves as charming compositions, closely patterned on Mughal models.

The Schönbrunn artist based his new ceiling paintings on the compositions of the collage cartouches, either on the original Mughal paintings or on his own cut-out and overpainted collages. In the following discussion and analysis, the paintings of the cavettos are referred to as CP (cartouche painting) and indicated by their position; the collage cartouches of the walls below them are referred to as CC and are numbered according to the system of Strzygowski and Glück which has also been used in the later publications.

Description of the Cartouche Paintings

South wall

CP left (east) *Enthroned emperor and cheetah-keeper* (FIG. 3)

A Mughal emperor resembling Shah Jahan in old age sits on a throne ensemble consisting of a dais with a *masnad*, a large cylindrical bolster, and a characteristic element of Mughal thrones. Behind him is a white wall ending in a cavetto topped by golden globes, placed before a tree. On the right, the construction is set off by a *saraparda*, a wall of canvas supported by stakes. Beyond, one looks into a landscape of tall cypresses and atmospheric mountains in the distance. A noble with raised hands petitions the emperor from the left; on the right, a bearded sheikh reading from a book sits below the steps of the dais. He is loosely based on the group of sheikhs of CC 6 (FIG. 15). To the left is a small box-like pavilion with a verandah with squat arches, similar to the one of east wall, CP left (north). The scene takes place on a terrace and bridge construction, variants of which the Schönbrunn painter uses also in three other CP scenes. A curved railing, set above a water channel, lines the bridge element and surrounds the main group. On the bridge a male figure armed with a spear and a shield with an ostentatious whirl pattern in gold and black approaches. In the foreground centre, a hunting cheetah is led by its keeper. The group is inspired by a cheetah-keeper on CC 21 right. The Schönbrunn painter introduces a dramatic effect by letting the man draw his animal's attention to a large fish, which rises on the surface of the water canal and which looks like a *Wels* (*Silurus glanis*), a fish native to Austrian waters. Behind are two guards with spears and shields.

CP centre *Lady and young man* (FIG. 4)

A Mughal lady sits on a floorspread in a landscape, fanning herself with one hand and

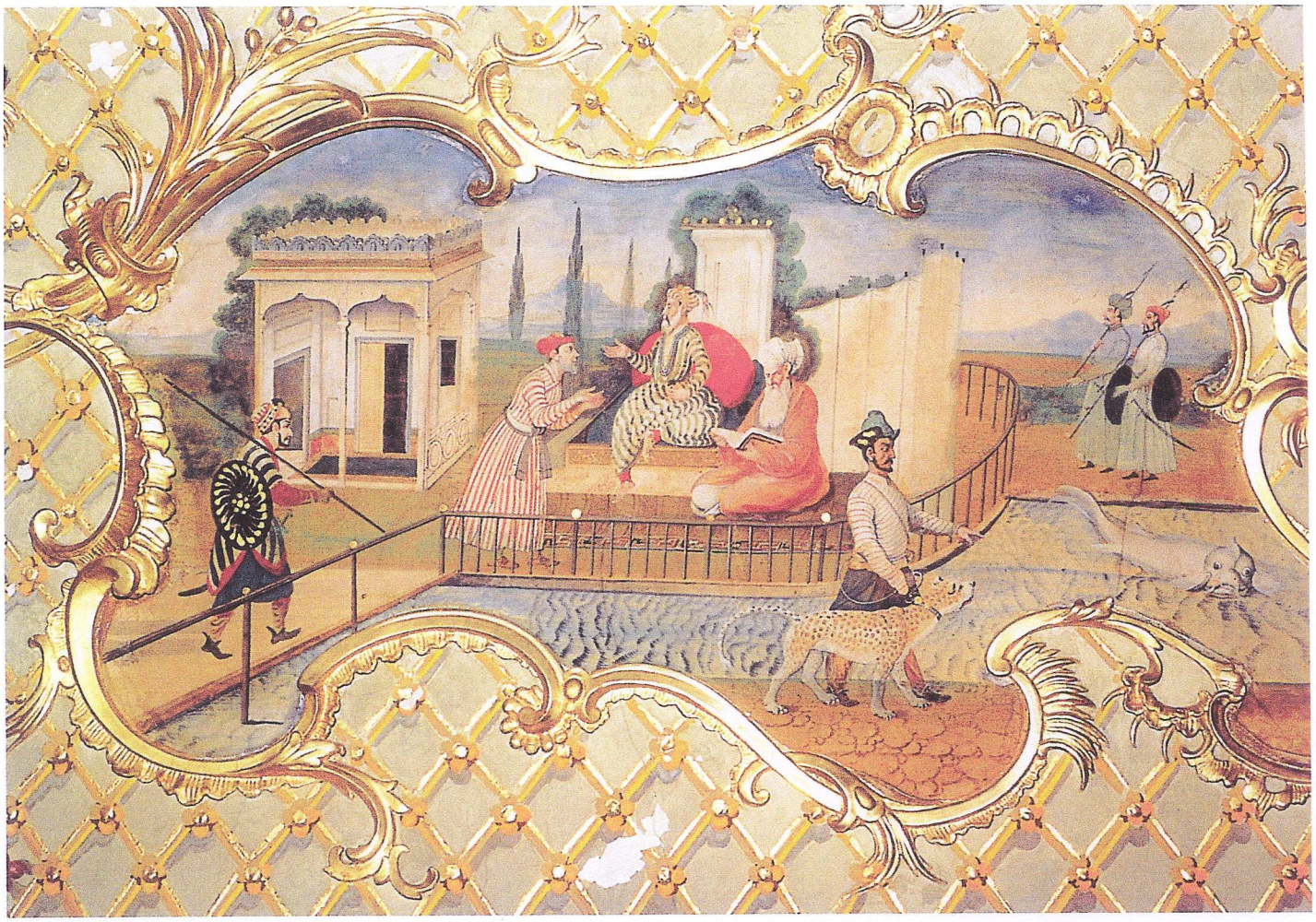


FIG. 3
S-wall CP left (east), Enthroned emperor and cheetah-keeper.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

holding a cup in the other. Behind her, on the right, stands a female attendant holding a sun shade constructed like an umbrella. A similar group appears on CC 10 right. Behind, to the right, a young man reclines on a voluted seat below a string supported by two posts from which hangs a bell. He contemplates the woman languorously. In the background, a round pool is set in a plane with a *chaharbagh* or *charbagh* (Persianate four-part garden) pattern, cypress trees and distant mountains.

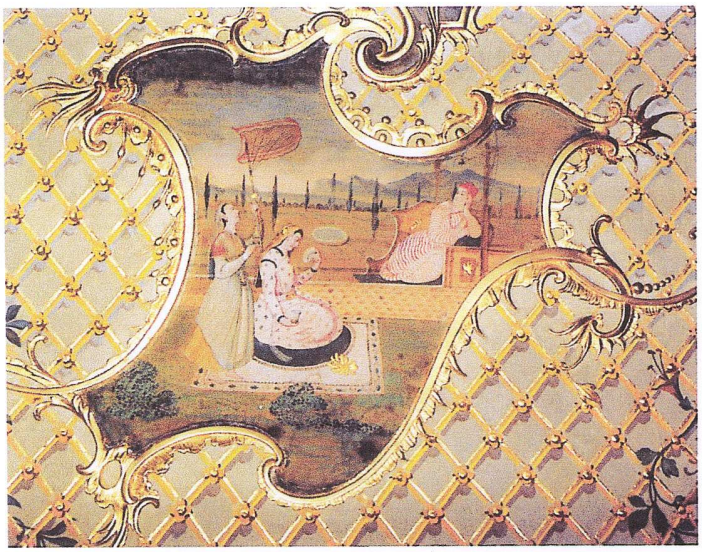
CP right (west) *The hookah smoker and three women visiting an ascetic* (FIG. 5)

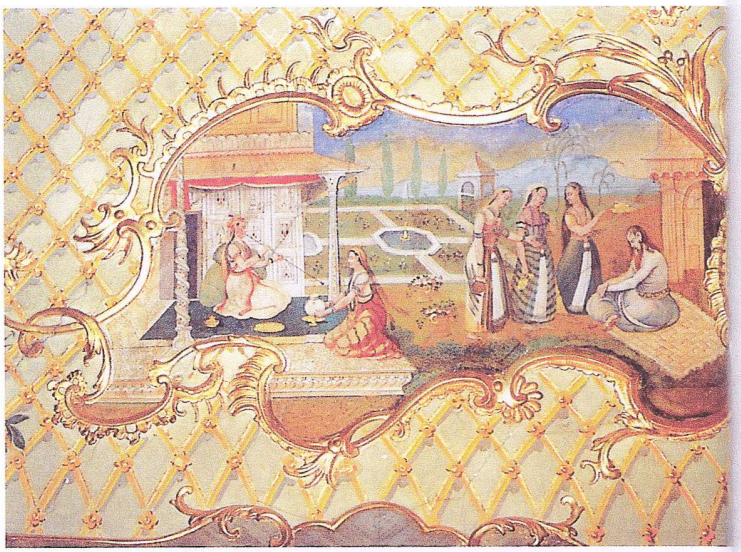
Two scenes with women in a garden landscape dominated by a *charbagh* demarcated by white walkways. To the left, we look on to the verandah of a pavilion with entwined columns and *chini khana* wall decoration (vessels in arched niches), a favourite Mughal wall ornament. It can be found on several miniatures of the CCs. On the verandah, a Mughal lady is about to smoke a hookah offered to her by a kneeling female attendant. The entire scene, including pavilion and *charbagh* in the background, is based on CC 21. Separated from this group by two flower or fruit baskets on the lawn is a group of three women visiting an ascetic. This is a common subject of later Mughal painting, and the Schönbrunn painter knew it from *Codex miniatus* 64, folios 35, 37,[16] as well as from a fragmented scene he used on CC 54.

WEST WALL

CP left (south) *Enthroned Mughal emperor* (FIG. 6)

A Mughal emperor resembling the young Shah Jahan with his pointed black beard,





ABOVE:
FIG. 4
S-wall CP centre, Lady and young man.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

ABOVE RIGHT:
FIG. 5
S-wall right (west), The hookah smoker and three women visiting an ascetic.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

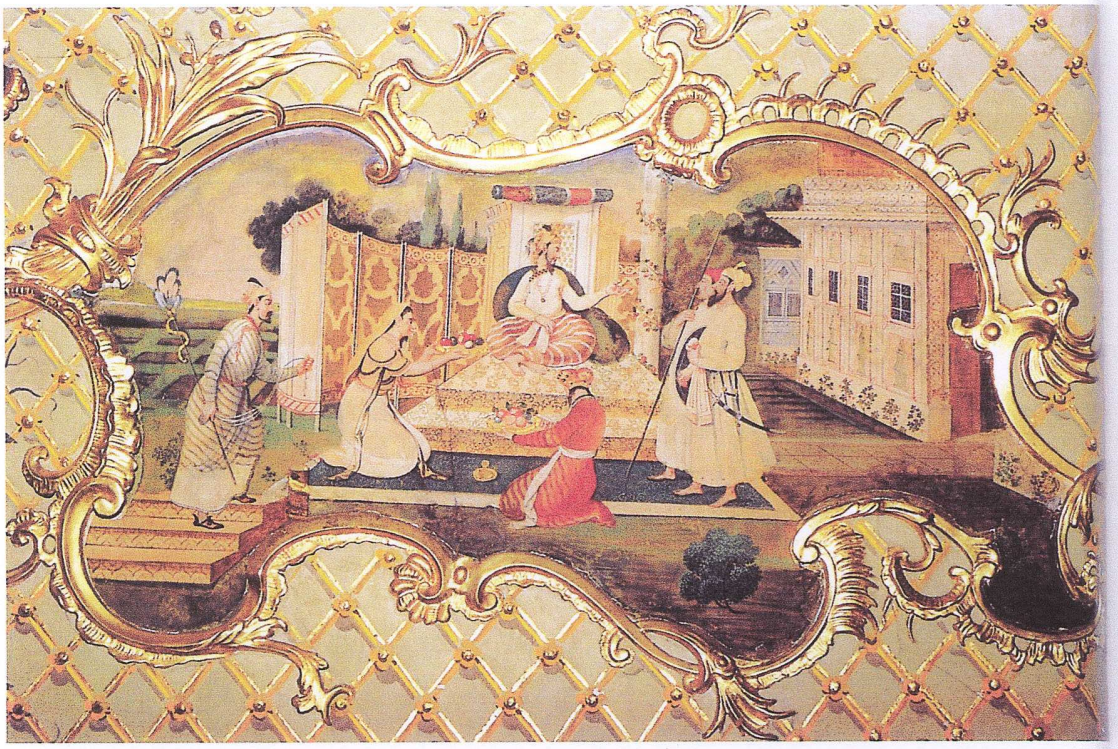
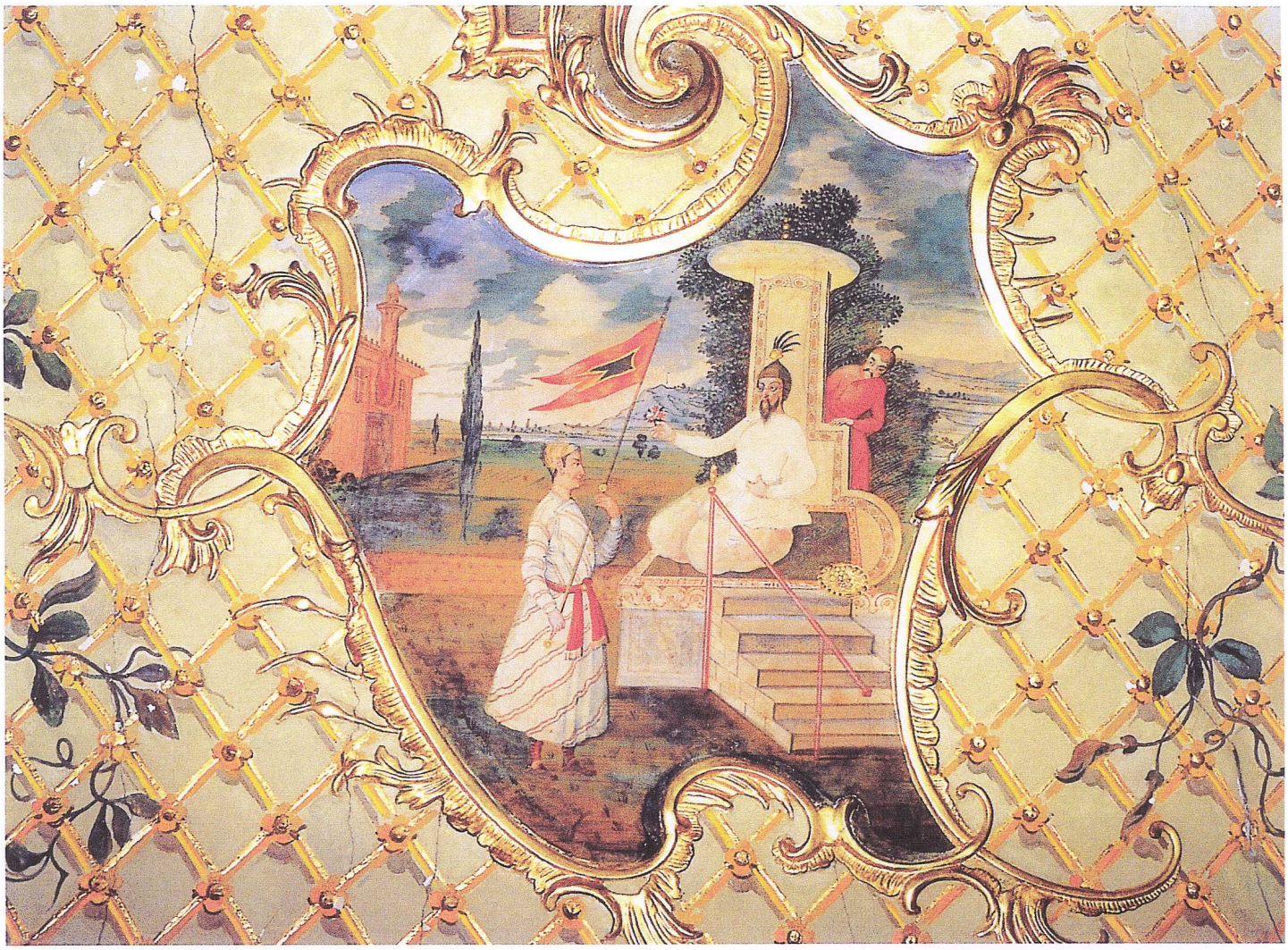


FIG. 6
W-wall CP left (south), Enthroned Mughal emperor.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

and in the shape of his turban, wearing purple and white striped trousers, is enthroned on a stepped dais covered with a brocaded cloth. He leans on a large cylindrical bolster, a *masnad,* which in turn is placed against a white backrest with a *jali* (ornamental stone screen) design, topped with a rolled-up hanging. The backrest forms one side of a pink octagonal structure. The emperor turns in typical Shahjahani profile view towards two nobles on the right, while in the centre before the steps and to the left, a male and a female attendant are offering fruits. Another male figure in a striped *jama* (Mughal robe) carrying strings and an emblem approaches on steps in the left foreground. The throne is enclosed by a *saraparda*, decorated with a large cartouche pattern. It terminates on the right behind a white column entwined by garlands bearing fruits. The throne scene is set in a landscape, with fields squared in a *charbagh*



manner in the distance at left and single-storied white pavilions with a light coloured decoration on the right. In front of their dados grow small individual plants, the favourite dado motif of Shahjahani architecture, which consists of flowering plants in marble or sandstone relief, most splendidly realised in the Taj Mahal, or in *pietra dura* inlay in the palace buildings of Delhi.

FIG. 7
W-wall CP centre, Timur on an outdoor throne.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

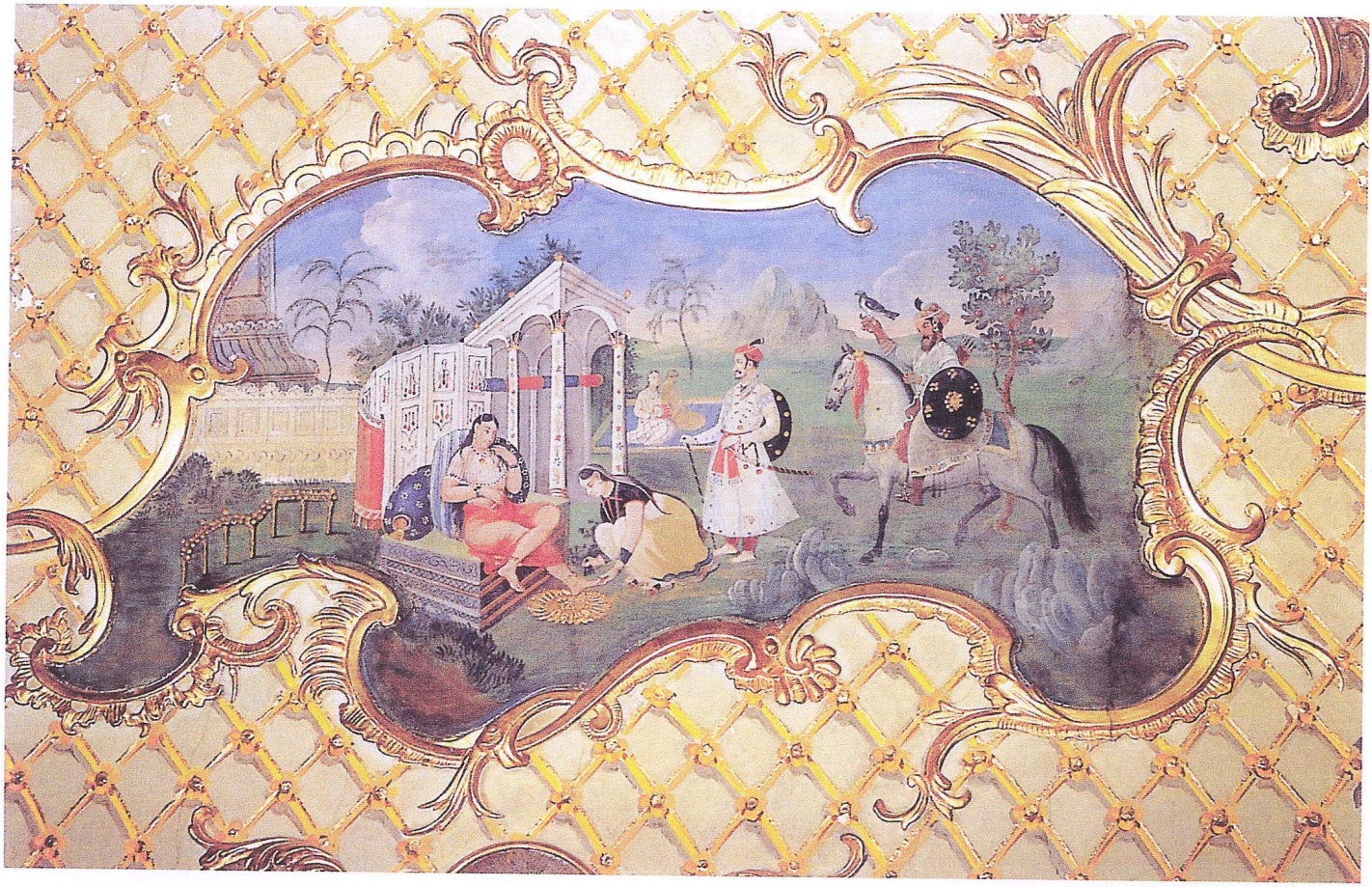
CP centre *Timur on an outdoor throne* (FIG. 7)

A ruler resembling Timur, the revered ancestor of the Mughal dynasty, sits on a fanciful throne placed against a tree. Timur, recognizable from his drooping Mongol-style moustache and pointed helmet, appears also on the CCs, on 45 and 55 bottom, and on the group portrait of the Mughal dynasty in *Codex miniatus* 64, folio 19.[17] The Schönbrunn painter represents Timur dressed in white, holding a posy and wearing glasses, which is entirely his own idea and gives the portrait of the warlord an unfamiliar poetic and scholarly touch. The throne construction creatively incorporates Mughal elements, namely a platform covered with a rug and surmounted by a parasol. The latter features in portraits of Mughal emperors and of Timur, such as over his throne on CC 55 bottom. Behind Timur, on the right, is a red-clad attendant, also bespectacled; in front of the throne, on the left, is a standard bearer who holds up a two-pointed Mughal flag. The background shows a landscape with a pink building, cypresses and other trees, and a distant lake before a range of mountains.

FOLLOWING PAGE:

ABOVE:
FIG. 8
W-wall CP right (north), Harem scene and horseman with falcon.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

BELOW:
FIG. 9
N-wall CP left (west), Mughal ruler watching a dancing performance.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).



CP right (north) *Harem scene and horseman with falcon* (FIG. 8)

A Mughal lady sitting with crossed legs on a dais has a female servant attending to her foot set on a golden ornamented plate. Her seat is framed by a *saraparda*. The screen is decorated with painted *chini khana* motifs. Behind is a pavilion with round arches supported by columns covered with flowers. Its perspectival view is not coordinated with its surroundings, the Schönbrunn painter here ignoring his own schooling in central perspective in order to be close to his Mughal models. The woman looks coyly at a noble or prince standing in front of her in the typical full-figure portrait posture of Mughal emperors and nobles of the seventeenth century. The elements of the composition are taken from various parts of CC 50 with some alterations. The group of two women is inspired by a miniature pasted onto the right part of the CC, and the standing noble is modelled on emperor Jahangir at the bottom. The architecture also relates to elements of CC 50, the screen may be seen on its top (cf CC 37), and the Schönbrunn painter had designed a similar pavilion with round arches for CC 50 centre.

In the background, two female musicians are sitting on a carpet, one of them playing a small red barrel-shaped drum, the Indian *dhol,*[18] as on CC 59 centre right. On the right, a huntsman approaches on a white horse with a falcon in his raised gloved hand, possibly based on CC 24 centre or 60. In the right foreground are fantastic rock formations, a characteristic element of Mughal landscapes, derived from Safavid (Iranian) prototypes. In the left foreground is an unusual Mughal railing behind a white decorated wall and the base of a large building, and in the distant background are feathery trees, fruit trees and a mountain.

NORTH WALL

CP left (west) *Mughal ruler watching a dancing performance* (FIG. 9)

A ruler or nobleman reclines on a red bolster on a waterfront terrace smoking a hookah. A *chauri*-bearer (an attendant holding a flywhisk), stands behind him. A possible model for the group set before a seascape appears on CC 6 centre left. Before the main protagonist, on the tiled terrace set off by a red railing, a dancing girl perfoms with cymbals, with a group of three musicians accompanying her on the right. The musician in the centre plays on a large red double-headed barrel drum, an Indian *pakhawaj;* the one on the left uses cup-shaped cymbals, to the right a singer is gesturing with his hands.[19] On the lake in the background are three boats and, beyond, a distant atmospheric landscape with a city set before a range of mountains, a favourite Mughal device used from Akbar's reign to indicate depth and distance, and inspired originally by sixteenth-century Flemish world landscapes.

CP centre *Mughal lady writing on a scroll* (FIG. 10)

A Mughal lady leaning against the usual bolster (*masnad*) sits on a carpet or cloth spread out on a lawn near the water's edge and writes large characters on a scroll. A *chauri*-bearer stands behind, holding a 'Biedermeier' basket with flowers. The lady's figure is loosely based on CC 9 top left, CC 15 upper centre, or CC 30 top. The scroll and the basket are variants introduced by the Schönbrunn painter. Behind the attendant on the left is the beginning of a garden, enclosed by a wooden fence, in which tall trees with red fruits are growing. On the right is a flat-roofed white pavilion of the same cube-shaped type with an ornamental parapet of the kind appearing in CP west wall, left (south), which the Schönbrunn painter derived from his source material of Mughal miniatures. The same tiny plants are set in front of the dado. The building has three axes of ornamental panels. The upper central one is opened into a window from which a prince or a noble observes the woman, a motif closely corresponding to Mughal

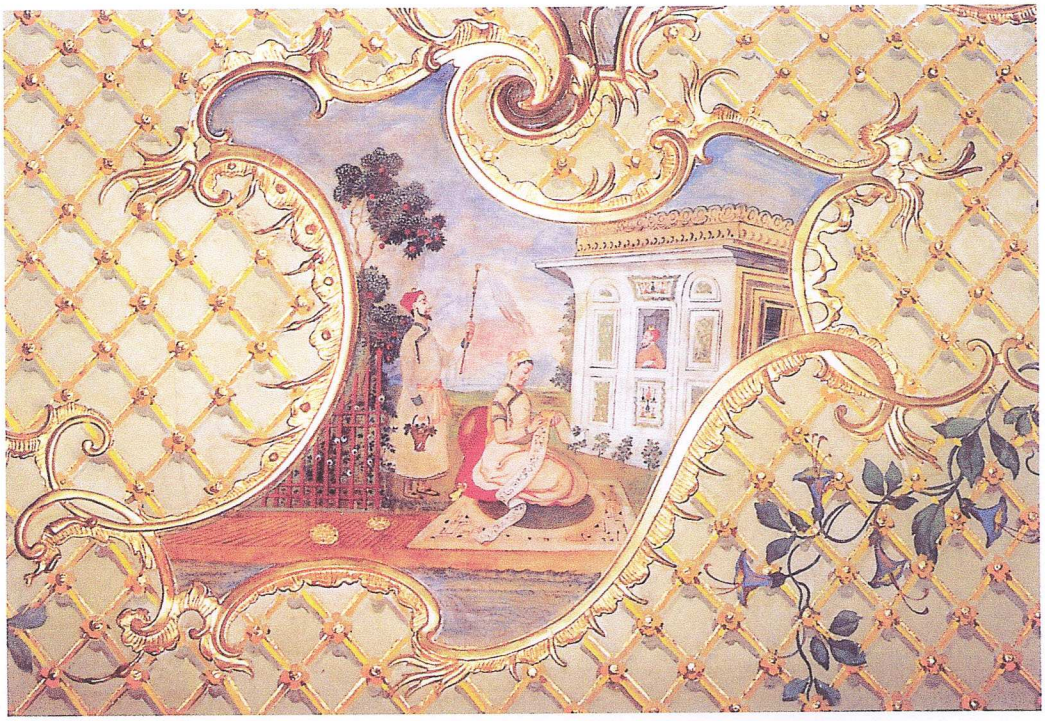


FIG. 10
N-wall CP centre, Mughal lady writing on a scroll.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

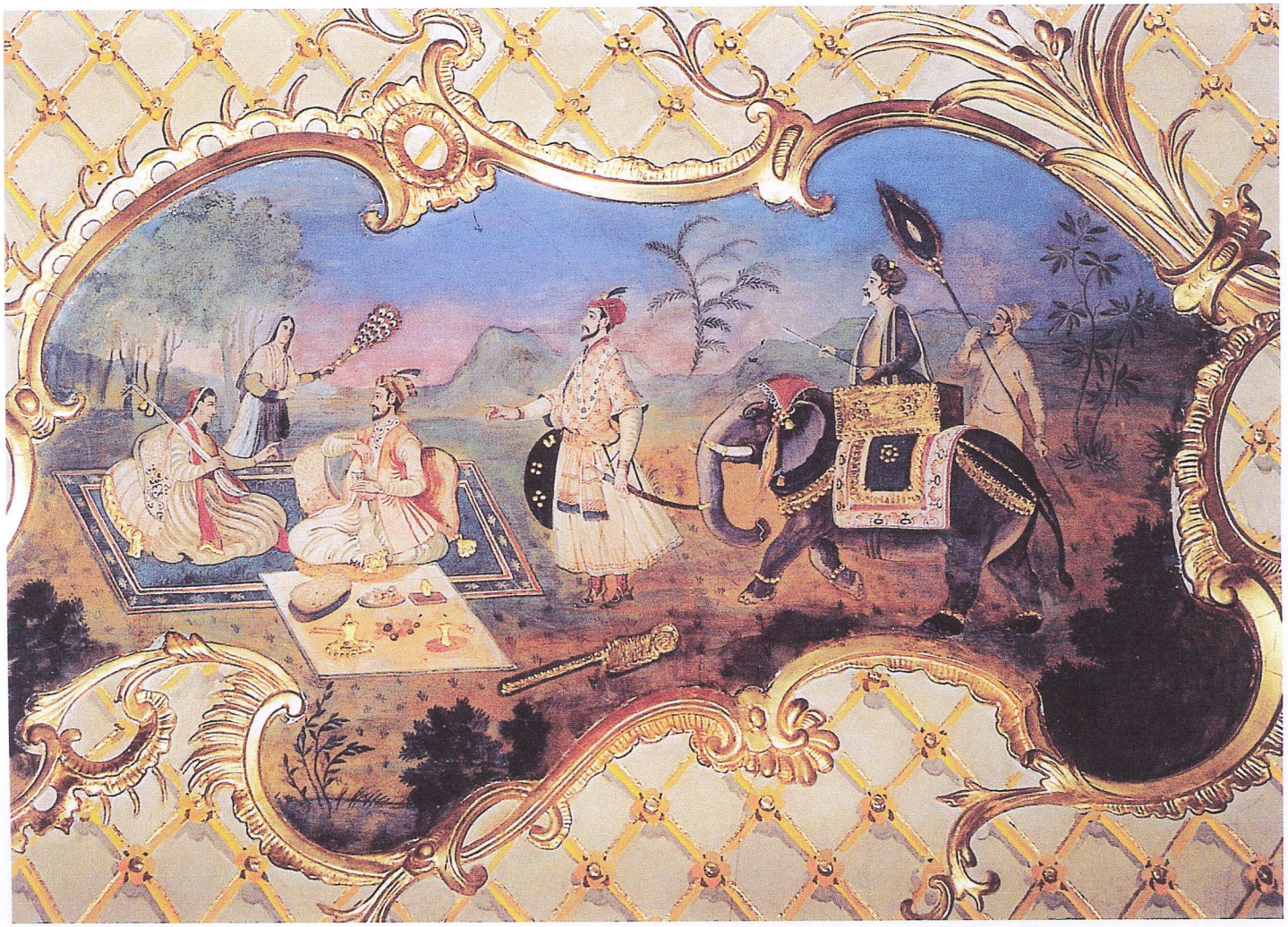


FIG. 11
N-wall CP right (east), A musical picnic and a sheikh on an elephant.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

CP right (north) *Harem scene and horseman with falcon* (FIG. 8)

A Mughal lady sitting with crossed legs on a dais has a female servant attending to her foot set on a golden ornamented plate. Her seat is framed by a *saraparda*. The screen is decorated with painted *chini khana* motifs. Behind is a pavilion with round arches supported by columns covered with flowers. Its perspectival view is not coordinated with its surroundings, the Schönbrunn painter here ignoring his own schooling in central perspective in order to be close to his Mughal models. The woman looks coyly at a noble or prince standing in front of her in the typical full-figure portrait posture of Mughal emperors and nobles of the seventeenth century. The elements of the composition are taken from various parts of CC 50 with some alterations. The group of two women is inspired by a miniature pasted onto the right part of the CC, and the standing noble is modelled on emperor Jahangir at the bottom. The architecture also relates to elements of CC 50, the screen may be seen on its top (cf CC 37), and the Schönbrunn painter had designed a similar pavilion with round arches for CC 50 centre.

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NORTH WALL

CP left (west) *Mughal ruler watching a dancing performance* (FIG. 9)

A ruler or nobleman reclines on a red bolster on a waterfront terrace smoking a hookah. A *chauri*-bearer (an attendant holding a flywhisk), stands behind him. A possible model for the group set before a seascape appears on CC 6 centre left. Before the main protagonist, on the tiled terrace set off by a red railing, a dancing girl perfoms with cymbals, with a group of three musicians accompanying her on the right. The musician in the centre plays on a large red double-headed barrel drum, an Indian *pakhawaj;* the one on the left uses cup-shaped cymbals, to the right a singer is gesturing with his hands.[19] On the lake in the background are three boats and, beyond, a distant atmospheric landscape with a city set before a range of mountains, a favourite Mughal device used from Akbar's reign to indicate depth and distance, and inspired originally by sixteenth-century Flemish world landscapes.

CP centre *Mughal lady writing on a scroll* (FIG. 10)

A Mughal lady leaning against the usual bolster (*masnad*) sits on a carpet or cloth spread out on a lawn near the water's edge and writes large characters on a scroll. A *chauri*-bearer stands behind, holding a 'Biedermeier' basket with flowers. The lady's figure is loosely based on CC 9 top left, CC 15 upper centre, or CC 30 top. The scroll and the basket are variants introduced by the Schönbrunn painter. Behind the attendant on the left is the beginning of a garden, enclosed by a wooden fence, in which tall trees with red fruits are growing. On the right is a flat-roofed white pavilion of the same cube-shaped type with an ornamental parapet of the kind appearing in CP west wall, left (south), which the Schönbrunn painter derived from his source material of Mughal miniatures. The same tiny plants are set in front of the dado. The building has three axes of ornamental panels. The upper central one is opened into a window from which a prince or a noble observes the woman, a motif closely corresponding to Mughal

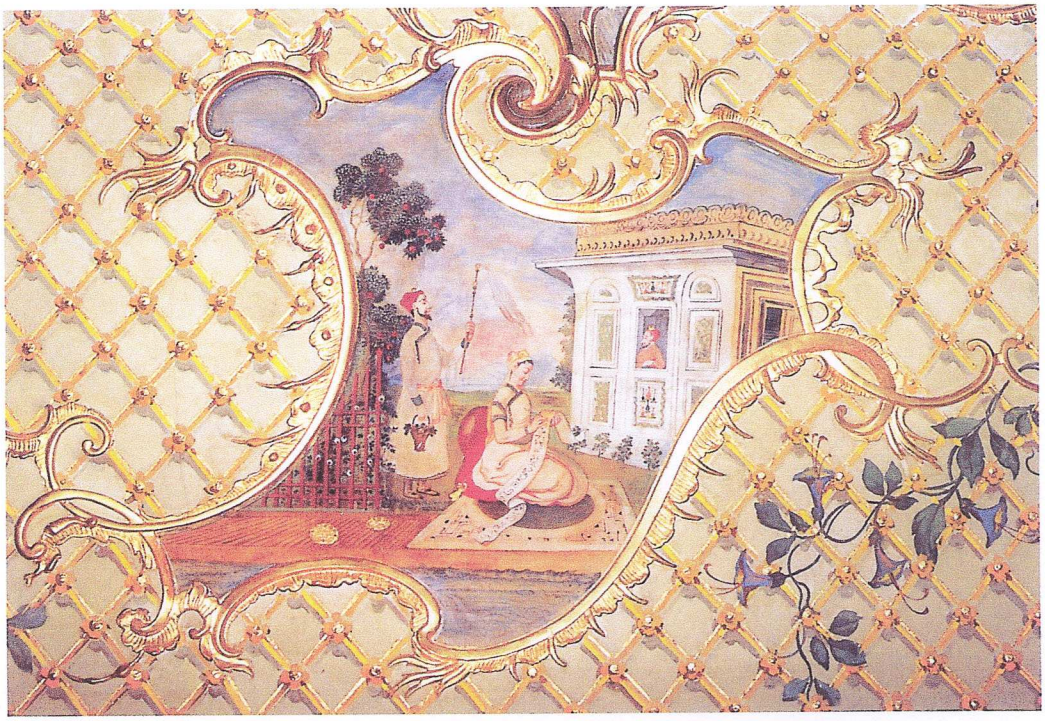

FIG. 10
N-wall CP centre, Mughal lady writing on a scroll.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

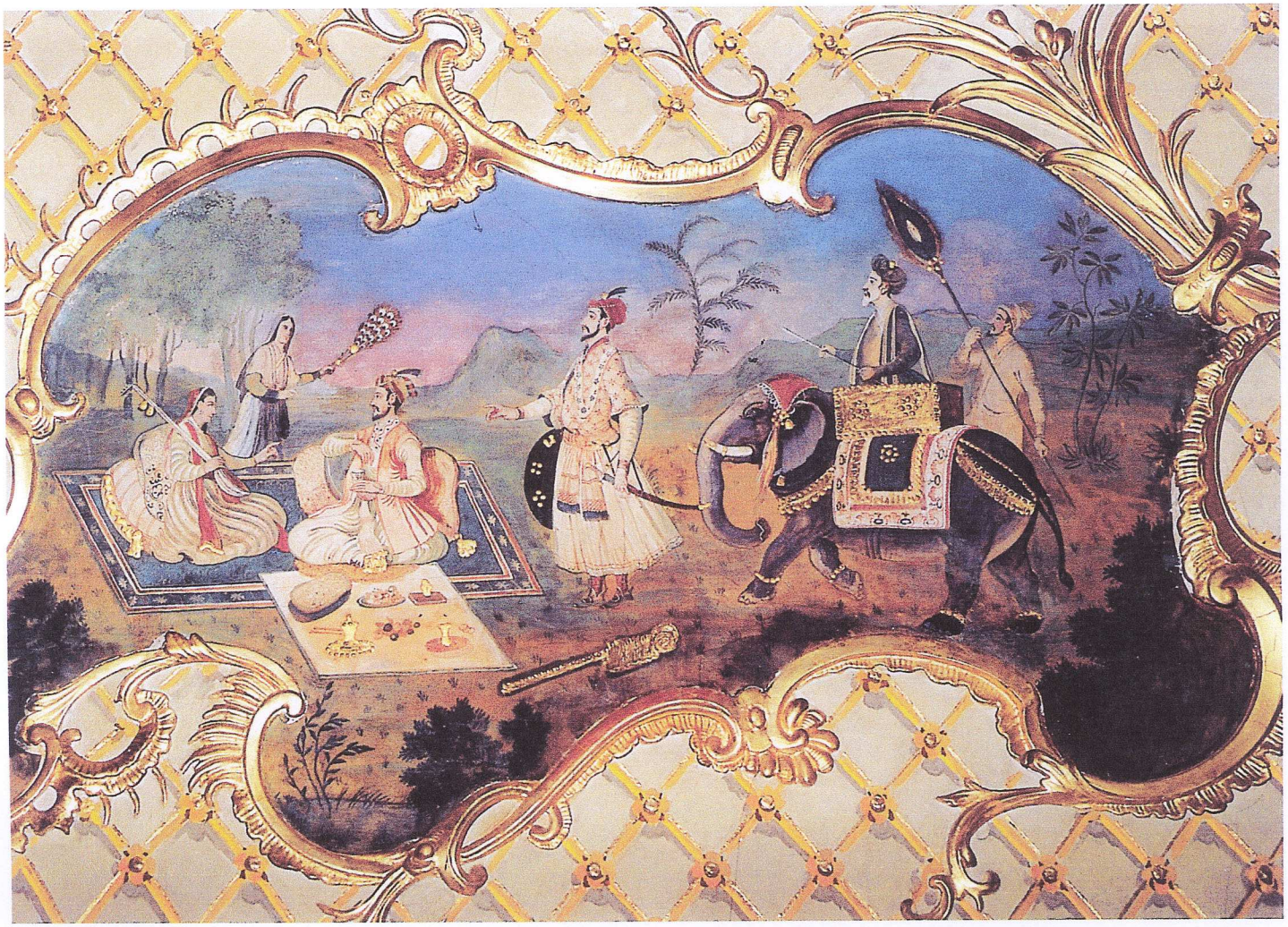

FIG. 11
N-wall CP right (east), A musical picnic and a sheikh on an elephant.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

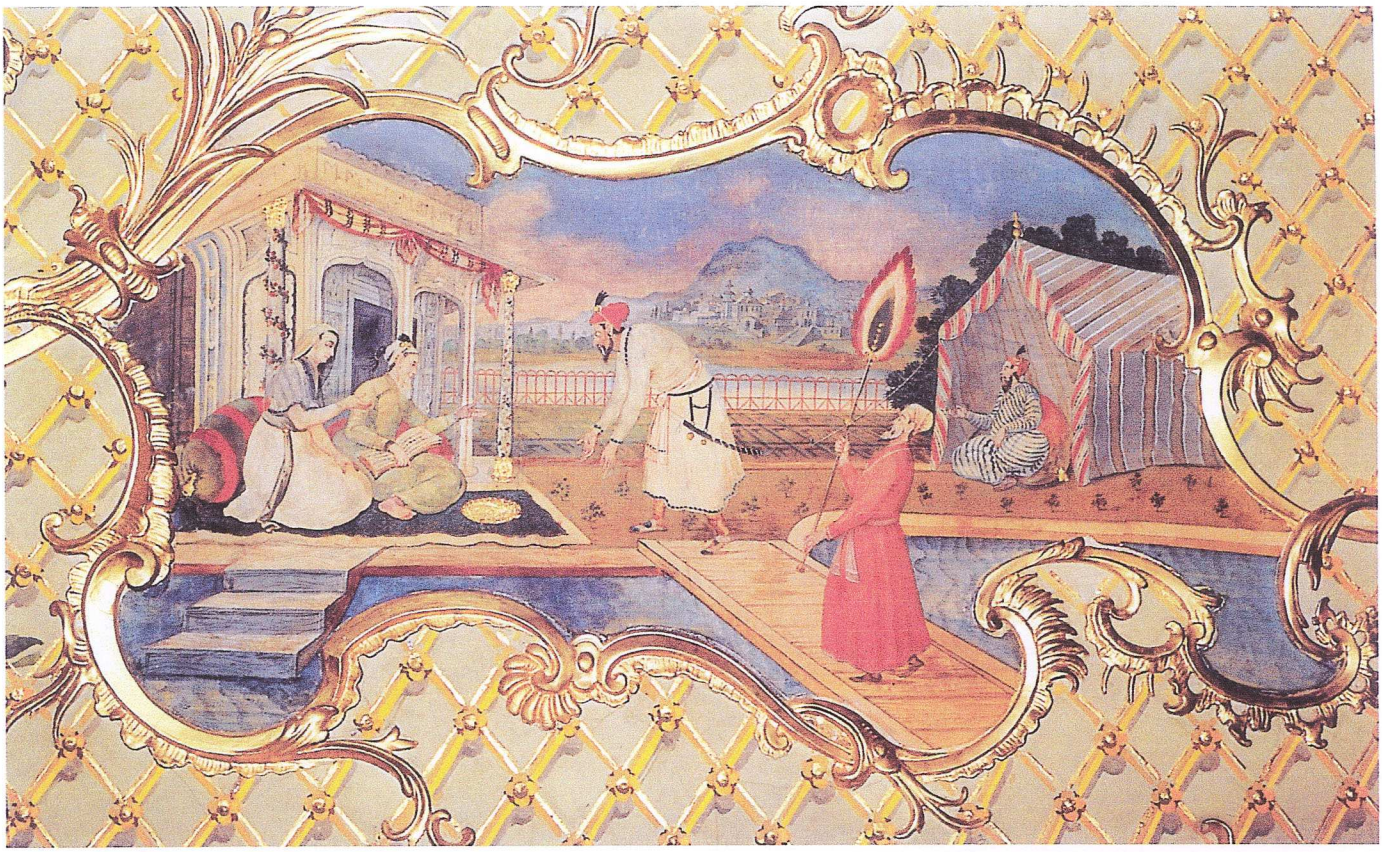

FIG. 12
E-wall CP left (north),
A petition.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

jharoka images, where the emperor appears in his official viewing window, as on CC 10 bottom. The ornamental panels above and below window have *chini khana* decoration of small flasks.

CP right (east) *A musical picnic and a sheikh on an elephant* (FIG. 11)

On the left is a group consisting of a prince wearing a vest over his *jama,* sitting on a carpet and reclining against a *masnad,* holding a cup in his hand. In front of him are golden vessels and eatables and, in the foreground, an object in gilded stucco relief. A female musician with a stringed instrument, an Indian *vina,*[20] sits opposite the prince and a female attendant with a peacock fan stands behind them. To the right is a richly attired prince or noble. The group copies figures from CC 16. The right half of the painting is occupied by a sheikh on a richly caparisoned elephant for which the Schönbrunn painter would have found inspiration on CC 11 and 6. The sheikh is clad in green, the colour of the prophet Muhammad, and befitting a religious person. An attendant holds a *sayaban,* the leaf-shaped sunshade that is an emblem of rank, over the sheikh's head. The figures are set in a landscape with feathery trees and plants; behind the picnicking group is a small grove.

EAST WALL

CP left (north) *A petition* (FIG. 12)

The scene takes place on a terrace running the entire length of the painting and bordered on both sides by the wavy water of a lake or large river. Beyond the farthest bank is a distant atmospheric cityscape. The main protagonist, a Mughal emperor looking like the old Shah Jahan, appears in the foreground on the left. He holds a book on his lap and sits with a lady on a carpet before a pavilion; in front of him is a stepped landing leading into the water. If he is Shah Jahan, the lady could be his daughter Jahanara, his favourite companion after the death of his wife Mumtaz Mahal in 1631. The pavilion corresponds to the cube-shaped, single

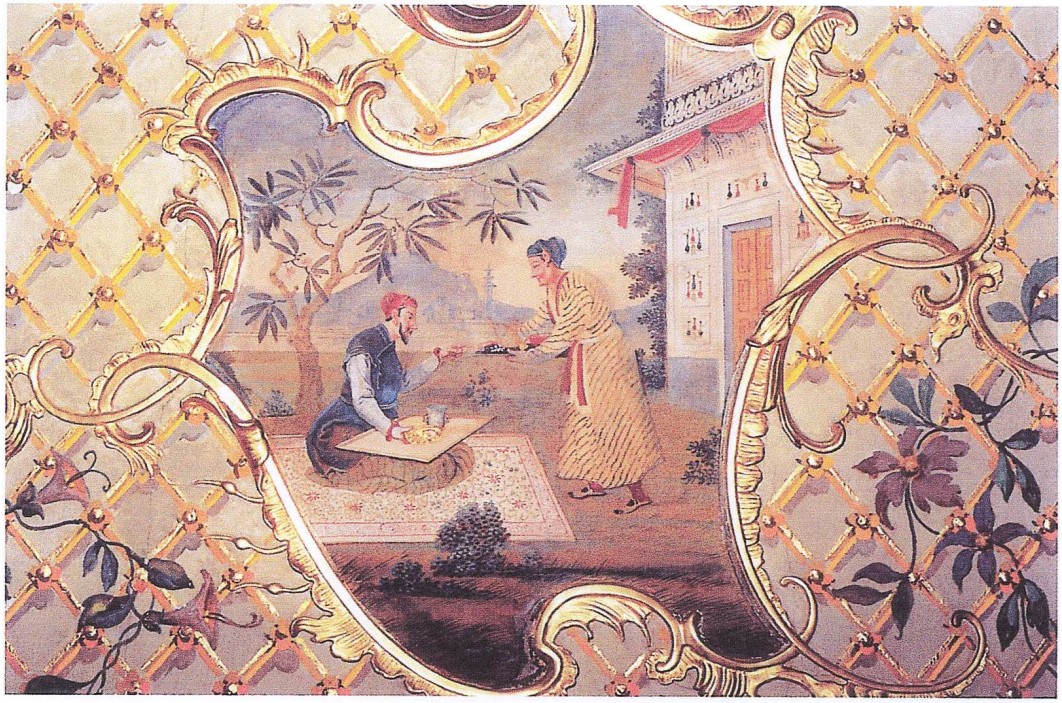

FIG. 13
E-wall CP, centre, A Mughal noble's solitary picnic.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

FIG. 14
E-wall CP right (south), The three sheikhs.
(Photo E. Koch, 1988).

storey type favoured by the Schönbrunn painter; as a variation it has the same verandah of squat pointed arches as the one on south wall CP left (east). Its *chajja* (sloping eaves) is supported by elongated baluster-shaped columns with golden capitals and bases, their shafts entwined with flowering creepers. From the right, a man approaches using the gesture of a petitioner, stepping from a bridge leading into the foreground from where an attendant carrying a *sayaban* walks towards him. To the right, before a group of trees, stands a striped ridged tent with an triangular opening lined by flounces in which a man in a striped *jama* sits. The tent follows the Mughal model appearing on CC 50 top, copied again by the Schönbrunn artist in CC 38 where he put two figures, cut out of miniatures, in front of it.

CP centre *A Mughal noble's solitary picnic* (FIG. 13)

A nobleman sits on a flowered cloth under a tree in a landscape with an atmospheric city before a mountain. He holds a tray with a gilded plate and a cup on his lap, and is served by an attendant. To the right appears part of the front of a white pavilion with *chini khana* decoration.

CP right (south) *The three sheikhs* (FIG. 14)

We look into the perspectival interior of a pavilion with *chini khana* decoration, placed in a landscape with a pond in which a swan swims; on the left are fantastic rock formations. Three sheikhs sit on carpets covered with golden cushions or mats in the front verandah of the pavilion. To the left is a female attendant holding a plate with fruits, with a standard-bearer further left. The three sheikhs are based on a circle of four such spiritual men appearing in a miniature pasted onto CC 6 bottom left (FIG. 15). This is one of earliest and most artistic of the Millionenzimmer miniatures: the date 1037 AH/AD 1627-28 is written on the book in the lap of the second sheikh from the left. The Schönbrunn painter follows the group of the miniature quite closely but omits the sheikh with the dated book. He copies the spiritual man in a striped coat holding a cup, and the two others to the right, the one with a red turban reading from a book, and the one next to him, looking ahead, lost in his thoughts, with his hands on his knees tugged up in the sleeves of his green robe. The group in the miniature in CC 6 was also famously copied by Rembrandt in his drawing of 'Four sheikhs under a tree', now in the British Museum, dated to the 1650s (FIG. 16). This model for a Rembrandt drawing after a Mughal miniature can only be found in the Millionenzimmer.[21] The Schönbrunn painter took up the same group over a hundred years later, but we do not know whether or not he was aware of Rembrandt's version.

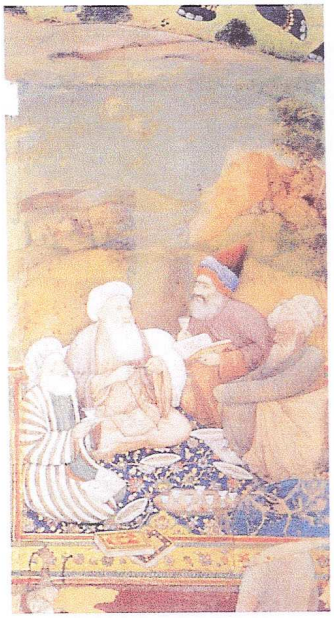

FIG. 15
CC 6 bottom left, Four sheikhs, dated 1627-28.
(Photo K. Troschke).

CONCLUSION

The group of twelve Mughal scenes which the Schönbrunn painter created anew on the basis of his own compositions of original miniatures, cut-outs and overpaintings represent the only European wall paintings after Mughal models known so far. The Schönbrunn painter studied the characteristic Mughal iconography and its individual components, the types of figures and their costumes, the musical instruments, the architecture and the landscape, very closely. While the *rocaille* frames of the paintings conform to the eccentric dynamics of the Rococo, the Schönbrunn painter does not introduce any particular Rococo effects, such as a dramatic distribution of light and shade into his paintings. Like Rembrandt and Schellinks, he transfers the iconography of the miniatures into his own most basic idiom, a more naturalistic and illusionistic manner in the style of Austrian painting of the middle of the eighteenth century. The Schönbrunn painter enhances physiognomies and facial expressions, giving a softer volume and more graceful movements to his figures and more depth to his landscapes and buildings. The artist also prefers the pastel tones of his time. He keeps so closely to his Mughal models that he does not even use cast shadows, and only occasionally adds a motif of his own, or interprets a Mughal element in a more Europeanizing manner. Taking his inspiration from the Mughal miniatures where outdoor scenes prevail, the Schönbrunn painter sets all of his twelve scenes in landscapes. He thus expresses the great theme of the arts of Europe of the eighteenth century, the Arcadian world and bucolic landscape, in Mughal terms. At the same time he makes his own original contribution to European Chinoiserie, the other theme of the period, in which fantastically-dressed figures move in bizarre landscapes, between exotic buildings, animals and strange objects to give courtly interiors a fairytale and exotic atmosphere.

FIG. 16
Rembrandt, Four sheikhs under a tree, 1650s, London, British Museum.

It is noteworthy that more than hundred years earlier, the Mughals had taken a similar approach to the European element in their art. They trimmed European engravings and pasted them with their own paintings or newly painted surrounds into albums (*muraqqas*).[22] The Mughals were, however, more careful with their foreign element, using the brush rather than scissors. There is even a close Mughal counterpart to the concept of Millionenzimmer in the decorative scheme of the wall behind Shah Jahan's throne in the palace of Delhi (completed before 1649). In this 'Europerie' original Florentine *pietra dura* tablets, not paintings, were laid into the marble and surrounded by Mughal creations of *pietra dura* showing corresponding subjects of birds and plants.[23]

Notes

1 The problem of the term 'miniature' has been discussed by historians of Islamic and Indian art on the internet at H-ISLAMART NETWORK, end of February 2003. Stephen Markel, for instance, felt 'that it was coined by the British because of the smaller size of Indian paintings compared to European oil paintings. Obviously, Indian paintings are not true miniatures and the term it is now generally considered to be outdated. Now simply "painting" or "album painting" are preferred.' Eleanor Sims drew attention to the origin of the term from the Latin word 'to color with minium—the red lead, or cinnabar, used as a foundation for a painting on parchment for areas in which gold leaf was to be applied' which is not applicable to Eastern book illustrations, and she therefore suggested using the term 'painting', 'book illustration' or 'picture'. On the other hand, the painters of the contemporary revivalist miniature school of Lahore, of which Shahzia Sikander, Imran Qureshi, or Aisha Khalid are the best known protagonists, deliberately stay with the term 'miniature'. They have studied or study the traditional medium of miniature painting at the only place where it is still taught, the National College of the Arts at Lahore, and use the traditional techniques and elements of iconography to express themes of concern to our time. I have decided to continue to use the term at least to a certain extent because of that, and also because, especially in a western context, it has become a *terminus technicus* for Persianate and Indian small-scale painting, so that other expressions would lead to confusion.

2 H. Fillitz and M. Pippal, eds, *Europa und die Kunst des Islam: 15-18. Jahrhundert, Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Wien 4-10. September 1983*, vol. 5: Section 5 (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1985), pp. 33-42, in particular pp. 39-40.

3 The painting is now kept in the Indian and South-east Asian Section of the Asian Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

4 F. Sarre, 'Rembrandt's Zeichnungen nach indisch-islamischen Miniaturen', *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 25 (1904), pp. 143-58; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1957); P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Mogol-miniaturen door Rembrandt nagetekend', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 32 (1980-81), pp. 10-40; M. Royalton-Kisch, *Drawings of Rembrandt and His Circle*, exh. cat. British Museum (London, 1992).

5 J. Auboyer, 'Un maître hollandais du XVIIè siècle s'inspirant des miniatures mogholes', *Arts Asiatiques*, 2 (1955), pp. 251-73.

6 See e.g. A. Kircher, *China Monumentis qua Sacris qua Profanis...illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667); P. Baldaeus, *Beschreibung der ostindischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel* (Amsterdam, 1672); A. Chatelain, *Atlas Historique....*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1718-20); F. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, 5 vols. in 8 (Amsterdam, 1724-26). The issue has been studied by R.W. Lightbown, 'Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), pp. 228-279; and P. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reaction to Indian Art* (Oxford, 1977). Corinna Forberg is presently investigating the problem for her doctoral thesis 'Die Rezeption indischer Miniaturen in der europäischen Kunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts (The Reception of Indian Miniatures in the European Art of the 17th and 18th Centuries'), which she is writing for Vienna University under my supervision.

7 The history of the construction of Schönbrunn Palace is as yet not well known. The pioneering publication is O. Raschauer, *Geschichte der Innenausstattung des Lustschlossses Schönbrunn*, Dissertation (Vienna, 1926). For the present state of research see E. Iby, 'Zum bisherigen Stand der bauhistorischen Forschung und zur Problematik der Quellenlage', in E. Iby, ed. *Schloss Schönbrunn*,

Zur frühen Baugeschichte (Vienna, 1996), pp. 6-13; E. Iby and A. Koller, *Schönbrunn* (Vienna, 2000).

8 D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften* I, *Persische Handschriften*, Textband und Tafelband, ed. Herbert Hunger, *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift-und Buchwesen des Mittelalters*, Reihe 1: *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. O. Pächt (Vienna, 1983), text vol., pp. 237-90, illus. vol., pls. 446-515.

9 J. Strzygowski and H. Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn* (Leipzig-Vienna, 1923); see also J. Strzygowski, *et al.*, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933).

10 P. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Witsenalbum: Zevebtiende-eeuwese Indiase portretten op bestelling', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 44 (1996), no. 3, pp. 167-270.

11 For the report of the restoration and discussion of the miniatures see M. Flieder and E. Irblich, eds, *Texte. Noten. Bilde,* [exhib. cat.] (Vienna, 1984), pp. 113-39; K. Troschke, ed, *Malerei auf Papier und Pergament in den Prunkräumen des Schlosses Schönbrunn* (Vienna, 1997).

12 I have presented the findings of my investigations in a lecture course entitled 'Orientmode und Europamode: Die künstlerische Auseinandersetzung zwischen Europa und Moghulindien' ('Orient fashion and Europe fashion: The artistic dialogue between Europe and Mughal India') given to my students at Vienna University in the summer semester 1994; and in several lectures: 'The Millionenzimmer in Schönbrunn Castle: A Hapsburg Moghulerie', for the Indian Art Circle under the auspices of the Dept. of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on 23 Sept. 1994; 'The Millionenzimmer of Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna', India International Centre, New Delhi, on 17 February 1995; 'The Millionenzimmer in Schönbrunn Castle at Vienna: An 18TH Century Concept of Presenting a Collection of Indian Miniatures', in 'Collecting India', a symposium at The University of East Anglia, Norwich, 24 March 1995; 'Copies and Their Copies: The Decoration with Indian Miniatures of the Millionenzimmer in Schönbrunn Castle at Vienna' in 'The Copy as Original', Session at the Annual Conference of the College Art Association (CAA), Boston, 23 February 1996, abstract published in *CAA Abstracts* (New York, 1996), p. 5; 'The Great Moghuls at Vienna: The Indian Miniatures of Schönbrunn Palace', Metropolitan Museum, New York, 22 November 2002. I am presently preparing an exhibition entitled 'Die Grossmoghuln und Europa' for the Kunsthistorische Museum at Vienna, to open in March 2006, in which the cartouche collages of the Millionenzimmer will feature prominently.

13 D. Duda, 'Das Millionenzimmer in Schloss Schönbrunn,' in *Texte. Noten. Bilder*, p. 114; Iby and Koller, *Schönbrunn*, pp. 116-21, 136-39.

14 Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei,* p. 9.

15 I would like to thank Dr Wolfgang Kippes, Direktor of the Schloss Schönbrunn Kultur-und Betriebsgesellschaft m. b. H for making the paintings available for my investigation in 1988 and 2003 and for the permission to publish them. I also thank Dr Elfriede Iby for her help and for sharing her knowledge of Schönbrunn. My thanks go further to Robert Tidmarsh, Alfred Deim, and to Leo Premmer, for finding on 10 July 2003 a ladder high enough to bring me up to the ceiling of the Millionenzimmer.

16 Duda, *Persische Handschriften*, text pp. 273, 274, illus. pls. 472-474.

17 Duda, *Persische Handschriften*, text pp. 264-66, illus. pl. 457.

18 B.C. Wade, *Imaging Sound: An Ethnological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Chicago and London, 1998), pp. 179, 180, 241, pl. 133, *et passim*.

19 Wade, *Imaging Sound,* pp. 179, 180, 243; pl. 133 *et passim*.

20 Wade, p. 244.

21 See note 4 above.

22 See e.g. M.C. Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and its European Sources', *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Bulletin*, 63, no. 332 (1965), pp. 63-91.

23 E. Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The* Pietre Dure *Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi,* (Graz, 1988); reprinted without introduction in E. Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Studies* (New Delhi, 2001), pp. 61-161.